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534 drums are double or single-membrane drums of the hour-glass pattern. A common type of drum used by children is a pot with the bottom knocked out and covered with a goatskin. 533 It is beaten with a stick. Songs are sung in a minor key, and 535 the horn players contort their bodies as they move round in a circle. All sections of society join in the dance. Boys skip round and girls yodel as they follow suit. Old men move round sedately, and mothers with babes on their backs join in.

526 The Katab young men hold games annually, which are known as the Chodong Gane and resemble the *shero* contest of the Fulani. A string is tied round the contestant's waist and he is pulled backwards and forwards by other young men of a different clan, as though he were some wild animal. He is then released and falls on the others with a cane, and they in turn thrash him soundly. The body is protected with cummerbunds of cloth, and the game is considered a test of endurance. Girls and women attend and ply the competitors with beer. It is to be noted that a man will not join in a contest with a fellow clansman of an opposite subdivision, i.e. with one who stands to him in the relation of a *nungvan*.

771 *Religion*.—The Katab does not appear at first sight to be profoundly influenced by religious ideas. He does not subject himself to innumerable taboos or surround himself with amulets and talismans. He does not set up in his compound an array of material objects which are believed to be the abode of spiritual forces. He believes in the existence of evil spirits, but he does not live in constant dread of them or find it necessary to be continually offering sacrifice. He is not, like the Bura, a devotee of a host of Nature spirits. When he sees the new moon he offers a prayer for health and prosperity, but the prayer is addressed to Gwaza, the Sky God. This nonchalant attitude may be due to a long association with Hausa Muslims, but it is true to say of the majority of the tribes speaking the languages of the Middle Zone that they are not, like the Jukun, Okpoto, Yoruba, and Igara, dogged at every turn by the fear of occult influences.

769 Nevertheless, the Katab is strongly imbued with animistic 593 ideas, which find their expression principally in the rites connected 888 with the recognition of the kindred and family ancestors. This ancestral cult is for him merely an extension of the principle

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governing his every-day life that if things are going wrong he takes his troubles and a pot of beer to his father (in the classificatory sense), who drinks it ceremonially and speaks the necessary words of comfort and assurance. For the Katab, though he may on occasion show disrespect to the head of his family, is a great believer in the magical power of the old man. To secure his father's blessing is as important for him as it was for Jacob, and to incur his curse or even censure is to lay himself open to one misfortune after another. And so a young man who has spoken angry words to his father or uncle will soon seek reconciliation by means of an offering of beer and a chicken. Or if he finds himself pursued by ill luck he will go to his father and inquire whether he had offended him at some time in the past. A married daughter, living in some distant village and having for some reason incurred her father's displeasure, will send her husband to her father with a chicken and beer, asking for forgiveness, and will throw ashes on her shoulders.

While your father is alive you have a living protector, and you do not, therefore, require to appeal to the dead; but if your father is dead you continue to take your troubles to him just as you did in his lifetime. And so the head of a family, having no living father, goes, as he feels the necessity, to his father's grave, and there deposits his flask of beer and his offerings of beniseed [1] and a cooked chicken. These he leaves overnight, addressing the spirit of his dead father and explaining the object of his coming. But, being the head of the family, he does not treat the matter as purely personal, and so he collects all his male relatives and may also invite male members of his wife's family. Next morning he escorts them to his father's grave and, assisted by them, repeats his requests of the previous evening. A little of the beer is poured on the grave and pieces of the chicken's flesh and beniseed are offered, the remainder of the offerings being eaten and drunk ceremonially by all present. There is no debauchery at the graveside; but on returning home free play is given to the feelings, and at the ensuing feast enormous quantities of beer are consumed, all members of the family, including females, taking a part. 769 782

The head of the family thus acts on behalf of all the members

[1] The use of beniseed in religious rites seems to be general among the pagan tribes of the Northern Provinces.

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The head of the family thus acts on behalf of all the members

769 of the family which may include brothers, cousins, and nephews. But if, for example, the head of the family has a nephew whose 782 father is dead, why should the nephew not go direct to his father's 596 grave? The answer is that he has a living "father" in the person of his uncle, to whom in the ordinary way he takes his troubles. His wives may have run away, or he may have been unsuccessful in begetting children, or unfortunate in other respects. So he goes to his uncle and says: "I am luckless in all I do; perhaps it is because I have offended you." His uncle will take ashes, touch them with his tongue, spit them out, and say: "You have not offended me." The nephew may then say, "Perhaps it is because of some offence I committed against my father in his lifetime." The uncle would reply, "That may be, but let the matter rest at present." If the nephew is still pursued by ill-luck he would again approach his uncle, who would say, "Very well, I will take you to your father's grave and you can there make your offering."

782 The points to be noted are that if you have a living father you take your trouble to him, and that even if your own father 769 is dead and you have a senior living relative you would not go 592 to your father's grave without reference to him. Other note-worthy points are that neither males nor females make offerings [562] at the grave of old women, though the death of an old woman is honoured by the same rites that mark the death of an old man. A woman has to make her petition to a dead father through a male. Women, indeed, appear to engage directly in no religious rites at all. The household head is thus the household priest, and the services of the high priest of the kindred, the Magaji Elenowum, are not ordinarily required even at harvest time, when each household, through the senior male, offers thanks with the first-fruits at the graves of the ancestors for the yearly supply of food. But on special occasions the assistance of the [793] priest of the kindred, the Magaji Elenowum, is sought. Thus, if things are constantly going wrong in a house recently occupied, the householder may report the matter to the Magaji Elenowum, who may say that the trouble is due to resentment on the part of the ghost of the former householder, either for some neglect during his lifetime or on account of an improper burial. And so the new householder goes to the grave of the former house-holder and deposits beer and a dish of beniseed, to which some

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scraps of meat have been added. Next day, accompanied by the Magaji and his assistants, and by the senior relatives of his household, he goes to the graveside. The Magaji inspects the dish of beniseed, and, if the ancestral ghost has partaken, there will be found in the dish a few hairs of the hide of some bush animal. Needless to say it is the Magaji alone who may make the inspection, and the hairs are always found. The youngest of the Magaji's assistants then offers a prayer: "I declare to our ancestral spirit that, if I have done him wrong, I come to him to seek forgiveness. I repent in order that I may find good fortune on earth at his hands. May Gwaza (God) grant that I may be blessed with children and wealth." The other assistants in turn make similar prayers, and finally the Magaji himself concludes by saying: "We have made common prayer and it has been received. Absolution has been granted you. Begone all of you to the bush, and may Gwaza prosper you and give you quarry to bring to me. If you fail to obey this command, then the blame is with you and has nought to do with your forefathers." They all rejoice and say they will go forthwith. The priest then takes the beniseed and meat offerings and gives a little to the head of the household and his companions in turn. He gives some of the beer to the householder, drinks some himself, and hands on the remainder to the others. Any of the beer left over has to be drunk by the priest himself. The young men then go off to hunt, and the quarry is brought to the priest, who divides it up among the members of the household and his own assistants, the major portion going to the priest and to the individual who had brought the quarry down.

It may be interesting to describe here the ceremony of reconciliation between two members of a family. It may be that a younger brother has quarrelled with an elder, and in a fit of temper the elder has told the younger that he never wishes to see his face again. This amounts to an imprecation, which the younger brother may ignore for some time. But the remembrance of it will rankle in his mind, and circumstances will soon arise which will make the memory of the imprecation intolerable. Sickness may invade his house. And so he will resolve that the time has come for an atonement. With a flask of beer and a chicken he will go to his brother, and in the presence of the senior members of the family will formally repent, asking

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Associated apparently with the private ancestral cult is the public cult of the *obwai* or tutelary genius (Hausa *dodo*), how seems to represent generally the plurality of ancestral spirits and particularly the spirit of the ancestor of the clan or kindred. The people have no clear ideas on the subject, which is not surprising, as the *obwai* cult was found in many instances to have been an importation from neighbouring tribes or to have been derived from the Aku clan, whose *obwai* take precedence of all the others. It is noticeable that the *obwai* hut is the only round hut in the village. It can accommodate thirty or forty people, and is provided with mud benches. It is often surmounted with a piece of pottery resembling a crown. The doorway is protected by a curtain of palm fronds, and no initiate may enter the hut at any time other than on the occasion of a festival. The cult is in the hands of the *Agwam obwai*, and plays a considerable part in the social and religious life of the people. It partakes of the nature of a secret society and is used largely as a means of discipline for women and children. The *obwai* is not seen, but his voice is heard, and every two years his representative appears publicly in his costume of grass, dancing round and striking with his cane anyone he comes across. (It is said that he will strike a woman who is going to bear a male child, but will not touch a woman who is going to bear a female.)

As a social factor the *obwai* is not unimportant. If a theft is committed in the village the shrill voice of the *obwai* is heard, and he has to be provided with beer in order that the sin may be purged. The *obwai* may at night be heard striking the wall of a house where an ill-natured wife has been giving trouble to her husband, warning her to desist. I was informed by an *Agwam obwai* that the representations to him of a mere bully of a husband would not be received; he would be told he was a liar and sent about his business. Nevertheless, it is obvious that, as the cult is in the hands of men, and the *Agwam obwai* receives a benefit when his services are required, the cult must be used more in the interests of the male than of the female sex.

Among the neighbouring Kaje tribe every two to three years the *obwai* compels every woman to wear (from July until the *obwai* festival in February) a string necklace as a guarantee that she will not abandon her husband during that period, i.e. the Kaje seek by religious means to put some check on the social evil of excessive sub-marriages. She is required to wear this necklace

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is strictly taboo. This taboo is kept up for three months, and to mark its conclusion all the lads must go to the farm of the priest and do one day's work. The priest then gives permission to the lads to speak to women, reminding them of the consequence of revealing the common secret. The women prepare a feast and pray the boys that they may once again hear them speak. It is clear that these rites symbolize a process of death and rebirth. The three months' silence is a portrayal of the early years of children who have not yet learned to speak. They are a precaution also against the revelation of the mysteries to women. Anyone subsequently blurting out the truth was taken to the *Ku* house and tried. If he was proved guilty, his father took ashes and rubbed them on the boy's head (the symbol of mourning). The boy was then impaled on a sharpened stake, all the initiates outside dancing and singing to drown the screams of the victim. The women were told that the *Ku* had swallowed the boy.

These inhuman practices cannot, of course, be carried out nowadays. The imposition of fines in lieu of capital punishment is apparently insufficient to maintain the secrecy of the rites; otherwise the above details would not have been obtained.

We have seen that the *obwai* rites are of considerable social importance, and to the uninitiated involve also the religious belief that the dead are in close association with the living. But these religious beliefs are shattered at initiation, for the boys learn for the first time that the dead do not assemble in the *obwai* house, and that the mysterious voice of the *obwai* is produced by a purely mechanical process. In spite of this, the initiates do not apparently regard the whole thing as a fraud; for a part only of the mysteries is revealed and the initiates still continue to believe that the *Agwam obwai* is in some vague way a go-between between the living and the dead. It is right, therefore, that the punishment of social offences, whether committed by the initiated or uninitiated, should be in the hands of the *Agwam obwai*.

Rain-making.—It would appear that the rain-making rites also are intimately associated with the ancestors. Each kindred has its rain-maker, and though he may perform the rites on some sacred stone or other material object and address his prayers to the Lord of Heaven (Gwaza), at the back of his mind

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769 he is addressing his dead forefathers. And if his prayers for rain are granted it is to the grave of his most remote ancestor that he retires in order to offer thanks. There are many rain-makers among the Katab, but the rain-maker par excellence is one of the Shokwa family, the Teowap. The Shokwa sprang from the River Kaduna, and it is appropriate that they should be responsible for water supplies. Just before the rains are due the Teowap takes his flask of beer, prepared from offerings of corn given by all the heads of households, and goes to the sacred stream. With prayers for a successful farming year he ladles out quantities of the beer on the water and on certain trees in the vicinity. No one may begin planting until the Teowap, or Magajin Dodo as he is also called, has first set the example. In October also he reaps his small plot of digitaria millet, and offers a porridge of the first-fruits, throwing some into the river and smearing the trees. No one may use new corn until these rites have been performed. Each householder repeats the first-fruit rites in his compound, making porridge of digitaria with which he smears the lintel of the door.

On the occurrence of drought rites are also performed. The Teowap goes to the banks of the Kaduna, to the very spot from which his ancestors sprang, sprinkling beer and beniseed to the four corners of the compass and at the base of certain trees. He then says: "Gwaza, our children are dying; grant us rain that our crops may survive and that we may eat the fruit thereof and live."

769 In March, just before the first rains are due, the Teowap
226 sends his sons to the Kaduna with beer and instructions to offer the beer to the spirits of the river for a plentiful supply of rain during the agricultural season and for a successful fishing drive. They address the spirits, saying, "The priest of Shokwa has sent us to perform the rites performed by our forefathers. Grant that we may have rain sufficient for our crops and that those who fish here on the morrow may be successful in catching those fish which it is permissible to catch; those that may not be taken do thou place on one side." Beer is then sprinkled on the water. Next morning the priest arrives himself, and, finding that the rites have been correctly carried out, gives permission for the fishing to begin. The first to enter the water is one of the priest's sons, and then all join in the drive. The first man

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of each village to catch a fish, however small, must hand it over to the priest, who has the fishes cooked and eats them ceremonially with his sons.

Among the Kaje the rain-making rites are also in the hands of a particular family. Material objects used are a monolith set in a grove (into which no one may enter with an axe), and a bamboo branch which has been used for measuring corpses before making a grave. In time of drought the people come to the head of this family and inquire if the drought is due to his negligence. So he takes the bamboo to the grove, and striking the monolith, says: "This custom I have received from my fathers and forefathers. May the Lord of the Heavens (Gwaza) grant that we may be blessed with rain. Let not the people die of hunger. They cling to me and say that I have hindered the rains. May Gwaza grant that the custom of my forefathers may not appear to be a worthless thing, and that I may be saved from the abuse of my kindred." This appeal is apparently addressed to the ghosts of dead ancestors, for, if rain follows, the priest immediately goes to the graves of the most remote ancestor and there offers thanks. There are also rites to prevent excessive rains while the corn is in the ear. To guard against this the rain-priest plants early a patch of digitaria, and with the new corn he makes a porridge and smears it on the monolith with the supplication that the crops may not be injured by an excess of rain.

Head-hunting.—The Katab, like all his neighbours, was a head-hunter, if by that term is meant the practice of severing the heads of enemies slain in battle and carrying them home in triumph to be deposited in the house of skulls. When he had killed his enemy he cut off his head, put it in his bag, and made off at full speed. And when he was free from pursuit one of his friends made him drink immediately a concoction of the bark of the locust and male shea trees, at the same time striking him on the chest and back with locust-bean leaves. These rites were designed to protect the warrior from assault by the dead man's ghost. A companion or relative[1] was then given charge of the head, for the slayer had to avoid all contact with his trophy. The friend passed a twig of the prosopis oblonga tree

[1] One had to exercise discretion in choosing the person to whom one gave the head, or he might claim it as his own.

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727 The chief enemies of the Katab were the Kaje. But an agreement was finally reached between them that all heads taken should be returned. The mode of concluding peace between two tribes 728 was for two elders from each side to meet on the boundary, each with a human head taken from the other side. The two heads were then buried together. The Magajin Elenowum was not 793 merely the custodian of human heads, but of the heads of all 224 large animals killed by hunters. All quarry had to be brought to him and was cooked by him and distributed to the various families in proportion to their numbers. The term "elenowum" seems to mean "The boiler of Pots", and to have reference to his functions as the cook and distributor of game. It may be noted that, when anyone killed a leopard, rites somewhat similar to the head-hunting rites were performed. A feast was held, and the slayer had to receive protective medicines and sleep in the hut of the priest (Elenowum or Magajin Elenowum).

793 The Elenowum played a considerable part in the social life of the village. His person was sacrosanct, and in cases of disputes or ill-behaviour he would interfere, threatening with his curse those who refused to follow his advice. He could fine summarily anyone who committed an offence against religion, such as cutting down a tree in the sacred grove.

527 The Katab do not appear to have any rest day, but Sunday is in some respects regarded as a special day. The Katab Chief is installed on a Sunday, funeral feasts are begun on a Sunday, and Sunday is considered the best day for collecting medicines. [823] Among the Kachichere a chief on appointment has to go into seclusion for seven days, beginning on a Sunday. One of the Kagoro hills was said to emit fire in bygone days every Friday and Sunday. The sacred character of Sunday among many Nigerian tribes does not appear to be due to any recent European 778 influence. The sign of the cross is also common. The principal *obwai* hut of the Morwa has a black cross painted on the lintel of the door. The Chawai smear red crosses on certain of their sacred rocks, and it was said that the sign of the cross was 769 always smeared on the captured head of an enemy. It is interesting 782 to note that among the Chawai also a man who feels himself to be unlucky sacrifices a goat at the house of his dead father or grandfather and smears the blood on the lintel of the door.

753 754 *Medicine and Diseases.*—Illnesses and premature death are

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one or more of his sons to a brother or half-brother who has no children of his own. This is considered a duty, and it is said to be good for the boy as he will be more strictly brought up by his paternal uncle than by his own father. In such cases the paternal uncle arranges the boy's marriage, and the boy is expected to look after his paternal uncle in his old age. His father has no further control over him. Occasionally a Morwa will send a son temporarily to his wife's family. But it is not the custom (as occasionally among the Hausa) to hand over a son to a friend who is not a close relative.

Clan emblems appear to be non-existent except among the Agbat, who respect the python. No one will eat leopard's flesh unless in conjunction with a protective medicine of pumpkin leaves. It is interesting to note that the skins of leopards have to be handed over to the Chawai chiefs, an indication that the Morwa are intruders into Chawai country.

The Morwa culture resembles that of the Katab. They wear the "tail" described in the Katab report, and it might have been added there that, according to Driberg, the Lango of Uganda formerly wore "a broad leathern tail covering both buttocks and studded with pieces of metal". Incidentally the same author records that unmarried girls among the Lango (and apparently also among the Bari) wear aprons of small metal chains. The Ganawuri, who are the immediate neighbours of the Morwa, have also this custom which appears to be unique in Nigeria.[1]

Religion.—As already stated the principal priestly family lives at Kisagwai near Manchok. The cult is principally animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed. A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits, a custom which links the Morwa with the Semi-Bantu speaking groups. In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town. The lintel of the door of the priest's house at Kisagwai is decorated with a black cross. There is the same rule among the Morwa as among the Kagoro, that no one may enter a priest's hut or

[1] But it is found among the Tur of the British Cameroons.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

the same way for the death of her brother's wife, retiring to her brother's village for the prescribed period.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

Among the Katab, the "high god" is called Gwaza and, according to Meek, appears to be associated with the sky and the moon. Individuals address more or less personal prayers to Gwaza on first seeing the new moon, though it is more usual for prayers to be directed towards the ancestral spirits as intermediaries.[29] It is believed that the majority of the spirits of the dead are content to remain in their abode "Lahira" (a Moslem term), but discontented and evil spirits may return to the world to trouble men. There is no general belief in reincarnation, though the dead are believed sometimes to be reborn, especially in the case of posthumous children of men who have met an untimely death.

According to Meek, the senior male of each household offers thanks for the yearly supply of food at harvest time with the first fruits at the graves of the ancestors. The services of the high priest (*magajin elenowum*) are not ordinarily required; it seems that he is concerned primarily with placating spirits of the lineage whose identity cannot be determined, and with those believed to be troubling not lineal but collateral descendants. Some original connection between the ancestor and head-hunting cults is suggested by the fact that the *elenowum* was custodian of skull trophies.

Also associated with the ancestral cult is the public cult of the *obwai* or "tutelary genius" (Hausa, *dodo*) who seems to represent generally the plurality of ancestral spirits and particularly the spirit of the ancestor of the clan or lineage. From the Katab, specifically, Meek was unable to get what he regards as a satisfactory account of the cult and the beliefs surrounding it, "which," he concludes, "is not surprising, as the . . . cult was found in many instances to [be] an importation from neighbouring tribes or to have been derived from the Aku clan, whose *obwai* takes precedence over all the others."[30]

The cult has the appearance of a male secret society and is used largely as a means of disciplining women and children; "if a theft is committed in the village the shrill voice of the *obwai* is heard." An *agwam obwai* presides over the cult in each lineage (village). The main festival introduces farming operations just before the first rains, and the whole community brings to the *obwai* hut[31] offerings of beer, beniseed, goats, chickens and porridge. The senior men pour the beer into the common pot in the *obwai* hut, leaving some for the women and younger people, who partake outside. The *agwam* then drinks a little from the pot and asks the *obwai* to grant them a successful farming season. A general feast follows, dancing begins, and the voice of the *obwai* is heard speaking from a place of concealment in the roof. There is another festival at harvest, and the voice is heard a month before, warning the people to make preparations and to "desist from idle disputes." The *obwai* actually appears, in the form of a masked dancer, only biennially.[32]

Rain-making rites also appear to be connected with the ancestors, each lineage having its rain-maker whose rites are associated above all with a particular

[29] God and sky (*choadza*) both appear rather to be derived from *za*, rain, however; see Ikulu religious beliefs, below, p. 86.

[30] Meek's criteria of coherence of belief are not stated; it seems not impossible that the language problem, or even an understandable reticence may have lain at the root of his difficulty in obtaining a complete account of Katab beliefs.

[31] The only round hut in the village, accommodating 30–40 people and provided with mud benches.

[32] What the term "obwai" actually means to Katab, initiated or uninitiated, is not clear. From Reynolds' account of it among Kaje, it seems that members of the cult understand the term to apply primarily to the hollowed-out "seed" (pod, or "gourd"?) of *Oncoba spinosa* used to produce the spirit-voice, though the uninitiated understand "obwai" to be the name of the spirit whose voice is heard. In view of the supposed western origins of the cult it appears significant that Edgar in his Gbari dictionary enters *obwa, obuwe* as "*Cucurbita lagenaria:* a calabash, gourd." No embodiment of *obwai* appears among Kaje, but among Katab and Kagoro *obwai* may appear as a masked figure.

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KANINKON

site, and who addresses himself direct to the high god.[33] If the prayers for rain are successful, he retires to the grave of his most remote ancestor to offer thanks. Though there are over twenty lineages and rain-makers among the Katab, the most important is that of Shokwa, the *teowap* or *magajin dodo*.[34] Among Shokwa, whose origin out of the waters of Kaduna will be recalled, special rites are performed, which would, presumably, benefit the whole tribe, all having some connection with the Kaduna River.

The *teowap*, too, presided over the important head-hunting cult: preliminary rites were performed over the warrior and his trophy by his local *elenowum*; but on the second day, the head-winner, with the *elonowum*, retired to Shokwa, and the *teowap*, there performed further rites. After *elenowum* and warrior returned from Shokwa, the latter's maternal uncle might take the head for cleaning, but it was finally deposited in the local skull-hut, in the care of the *elenowum*. A first feast was held on the warrior's return from Shokwa, when the warrior partook of a small piece of flesh from the head. which, it would seem, qualified him technically for the salutation, "*mwaliak*"; a final feast was held when the head had been prepared for display.[35] It is probably significant that the *elenowum* also functioned as the keeper of game-heads (less now than formerly, owing to the disappearance of large game in any quantity from the Katab area); it was he apparently who actually cooked and distributed the game killed.[36]

As regards totemism, Meek states that some of the Katab clans have animal or plant taboos, but that these do not appear to be closely associated with the system of clan exogamy or to play much part in binding the members of a clan together. There is no doubt considerable variation from one lineage, clan or sub-clan to another. The Agbat clan, for instance, respects the crocodile, the Shokwa clan the *tatona* lizard; children often respect the clan-emblem of their mother as well as that of their father. In addition, Agbat appears to be the only clan to perform special rites when a leopard is killed.

KANINKON (TUM) OF JEMA'A DISTRICT, JEMA'A EMIRATE-DIVISION, PLATEAU PROVINCE

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE

A link between Kaninkon and Katab is impossible to establish with absolute certainty and there is no available evidence of a close connection between them at the present time, though relations with Kagoro (and the Kachichere of Jema'a) are traditionally cordial.

[33] Significant if Gwasa is regarded as a rain god.

[34] Kuzat lineage, presumably: Kamantan lineage is an adopted immigrant group. The structure of Shokwa to be deduced from this account of Meek's appears to diverge sharply from the Katab norm. In general Meek has noted that the various religious posts are filled by members of distinct "branches" of each lineage: the *teowap*, however, is apparently *agwam obwai* (as *Magajin dodo*), and rain-maker and, as rain-maker, it would seem, in light of Shokwa's miraculous origin, also in effect *elenowum*.

[35] Meek notes: "... The Zaria Hausa and Fulani never had sufficient control over the tribe to interfere with head-hunting. The chief enemies of the Katab were the Kaje", that is, presumably, among the members of the Katab group: members of the group did not wage war merely for the sake of heads, but on provocation, and the Kaje, being the largest and most aggressive of the neighbours of the Katab proper, very likely gave provocation freely; there is evidence, however, that Fulani and Hausa were preyed upon with considerable enthusiasm by all members. Ultimately, peace-making between Kaje and Katab proper resolved itself into the ritual exchange of heads taken in battle.

[36] Meek's account at this point raises a number of questions: elsewhere he states that a hunter takes the head of his quarry to his mother's brother; and, again, to the "head" of Aswen (which lineage is not specified: Amurun-Alan and Yagofo lineages are recognized as biologically derived from eponymous Aswen; but the adopted immigrant Awai, on the other hand, is credited with teaching the other two the art of animal-skinning); further, if the connection between game-hunting and head-hunting is truly significant, which Meek suggests, a connection between the former and the *teowap* of Shokwa needs to be demonstrated. To some extent, these apparently contradictory statements may reflect actual variation in local practice: if so, the fact needs to be stated explicitly.

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Kagoro

837 684

woman in the stress of childbirth. A traditional fine of one goat was—and presumably still is—paid by the offender to the *niewhop* of the woman's husband's clan; it is said that the offender often emigrated, presumably as a result of ritualized public ridicule.

Burial

561 764

According to Tremearne, death is traditionally ascribed to "the evil wishes of some person." When a death occurs, women related to the deceased gather and wail through the remainder of the day, and horns may be sounded, while people—not precisely identified by Tremearne—collect, often coming from neighbouring villages. The corpse is wrapped in a mat for interment, normally in a fresh grave: women and children remain indoors[88] during the proceedings. A fowl or goat may be sacrificed, the spilling of blood being apparently part of the rites, and eaten by the (male?) kin. The decanter-type grave is located, according to Temple, close to the porch of the house if the deceased had children, or outside under the shelter of the wall. Seven days later, adult males (presumably of the lineage or clan) 765 gather for three days of drinking and feasting, drumming and horn-blowing, after which men of the deceased's household shave their heads, and the widows (normally clean shaven) let their hair grow for a month and remove the *oyam* until remarriage. Between the day of burial and the final feast, the hoes used to dig the grave are left out of doors.[89]

Under some circumstances, apparently, ancestral skulls were exhumed and preserved, but the more significant details of Kagoro practice in this connection are precisely those which are lacking in all accounts.

Temple's account of beliefs in an after-life held by Kagoro contains contra- 775 dictory features which it is impossible to reconcile on the basis of available evidence. According to Temple, the Kagoro believe that there is a stream dividing life from death, beyond which the spirits of the dead reside; here, primary mates are united, with their unmarried children. On the other hand, they believe that all souls survive and become ghosts, but that they may be reborn in the body of a descendant, and live once more as ordinary mortals. The "ghosts" must be constantly propitiated with food and drink, for neglect would be followed by punishment. They are regularly consulted, particularly about war and hunting, by the elders, who spend three days in the sacred grove.

The second account is presumably based on Tremearne. Smith, investigating some 40 years later, states that "Kagoro males say that there is no survival after death, though reincarnation sometimes occurs".[90]

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES.

Kagoro beliefs and practices appear to conform generally to the Katab pattern 771 already described, though detail comparable to that supplied by Meek for Katab (or by Reynolds for Kaje, described below, pp. 115–16) are in great part lacking.

According to Tremearne, the supreme god is called Gwaza (as among Katab 776 proper and various other members of the Katab Group already described), "a beneficent spirit who helps them against the ghosts of their dead ancestors." Gwaza is popularly invoked at each new moon to bring health and good luck, and also, according to Temple, in time of drought, for rain. Smith, though he appears to concede a belief in a supreme god (Gwaza), implies strongly that such belief does not enter into the annual cycle of rituals.

Regarding the spirits of the dead, Smith states flatly that "no cult of ancestor 769 worship was developed" by Kagoro, "since Kagoro males say that there is no

[88] Cf. information on *obwai* under *Initiation*, above, and *Religious Beliefs*, below.

[89] It is not always clear whether Tremearne is describing Kagoro or Kaje practices (or both). It is to be presumed that Tremearne (as Temple) is describing the burial of an adult male.

[90] The circumstances and implications of this statement are discussed below, under *Religious Beliefs*.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

survival after death."[91] It seems clear from Smith's account that the Kagoro *obwai* cult " does not command awe among initiated males " at the present time, but he leaves some doubt as to the effectiveness of the cult among the uninitiated, particularly the women, commenting only that it " has lost some of its functions."[92] Apart from spring memorial rites the ancestral cult appears to be associated with none of the rituals of the annual cycle—planting, harvesting, or hunting.[93]

The extent to which belief in the supernatural constitutes a basis for, or at least an element of, the aforementioned rituals of the annual cycle is by no means clear from Smith's accounts of them, already referred to.[94] Tremearne, too, fails to make the point clear in describing " harvest rites."

Of hunting rites Temple says only that ancestral spirits are consulted in the sacred grove. *Akanyam*, described by Smith as ritualized beer drinking by members of a lineage at the lineage shrine (*sshwo*), appears to be associated primarily with hunting, but it is not clear whether this rite follows each hunt, or simply terminates the hunting (=dry) season. Neither is the religious, as contrasted with the social, basis of the rite entirely clear, though Smith calls it a " ritual of purification," and says that it marks the end of the period during which the hunter is in danger from his quarry's dead spirit.[95]

Judging from Meek's evidence, the *kwai* (clans) are totemic units, that is, respect particular animal species: he reports, however, that clans recognizing a common origin (that is, localized segments of a *bin*) sometimes do, and sometimes do not, recognize the same species as their emblem.

Smith gives an interesting account of the *imbhweh* cult, which during its brief career rivalled the *obwai* cult, and threatened to displace the budding chieftaincy as a comprehensive institution, so that (in 1934) the Administration felt bound to outlaw it. In general outline *imbhweh* closely resembles *obwai;* it was essentially a male secret society with masked dancers and initiation, and it imposed a certain discipline on the community through floggings and ritualistic fines of goats and beer. According to Smith, the rise of *imbhweh* was incident to the disastrous locust invasion and subsequent famine of *c.* 1930, and to the activities of a new chief appointed about this time, a ruthless man, who converted the N.A. police into a personal instrument and had people whipped, fined, or imprisoned at will. *Imbhweh's* chief claim was to the control of locusts; accordingly the shrine and ritual of the cult was established in each village, under the headship of the *tita imbhweh*. Everyone was required to attend the nightly dances at the shrine, to bring beer, goats, chickens, and dogs as tribute. Women were ordered to sleep with nominees, and premarital licence, a thing foreign to Kagoro custom, was ordered. *Imbhweh* was also instrumental in punishing theft, which had increased during the period of locust infestation. According to Smith, the great mass of the people were caught between these two opposing forces struggling for power,

[91] How this accords with Smith's assertion that " in former days . . . ritual assistance . . . was sought from [their father and father's brother] either in their lifetime by small gifts of beer or after their death," is not clear, unless it be that a generation of successful mission activity has wrought changes in Kagoro religious belief.

[92] Smith implies that even the residual core of belief in *agwam obwai* as a kind of go-between from the living to the dead, described by Meek, has vanished.

[93] These spring memorial rites are described only imperfectly by Smith, but occur towards the end of the dry season. They begin with *obwai abeyan*, then comes *fon* which seems to be a kind of memorial service for the dead of the preceding year.

[94] Smith lumps together all planting and harvest rituals as *ci* (*chi*) rituals; each of several traditional staples has its own special rites. These rituals appear to define the village, and are presided over by the village *tienwhop*, always a member of an Ankwei clan. (Whether lesser rites are subsequently held by each clan is not clear: Smith never describes the exact functions of the *nienwhop*, the clan-head in ritual matters.) Hunting rites are presided over by the *tenci* of each clan: within the village, the rites of the senior clan take precedence over those of all other clans.

[95] Tremearne's (and Temple's) statement that the spirit of a hunter's quarry may be reborn in his child is perhaps relevant here.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Moroa
Ataka
Kaje

Gizagwai, Mahuta, and Manchok:[104] the senior lineage, then, of Ye-Lutsi is that of Gizagwai. The chief is derived from a different clan, localized apparently at Manchok, to which Meek tentatively gives the name Manchok. Meek derives the Ye-Lutsi from Yelwa, in the Chawai tribal area of Zangon Katab District, and the Manchok from Kafanchan. According to Meek, the priest of Gizagwai has a prominent role in the installation of the chief of Moroa, with which a "sacred sword," the property of the chiefly clan, is associated.

Regarding the religious beliefs of Asolio, Meek states: "The cult is primarily animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March)[105] the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed.[106] A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits . . . In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town."[107]

Meek states also: "the Moroa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab."

A fragmentary analysis by Reynolds of Asolio villages in Zangon Katab District reveals that Chori has a fully-fledged hamlet-head (entitled *Makkadas*) whose lineage or clan is Abuwat, while Ungwar Kayya has had no hamlet-head for the past nine years, only a *wakili* [Hausa, care-taker].

In other respects, materially and superficially, at least, Asolio appear to resemble Katab proper.

Little can be said of Ataka. At the time Tremearne wrote, they used, like certain Kagoro communities upon Kagoro Rock, the ordinary round house at least as commonly as the more distinctive Katab-type house, and their women wore a distinctive type of lumbar ornament which they shared only with Kagoro women of Tuku, Jema'a District. There is no indication that these distinctions persist. Ataka were also essentially horsemen like Birom, Sura, and Ron of the Plateau and this distinguished them from other Katab affiliates. Like the Plateau people again, Ataka men commonly wore only the penis-sheath. Ataka women still supply the pots used over a wide area of south-eastern Zaria, a fact which suggests links with certain segments of the wider Birom community again (especially Irigwe and certain Afusare "colonies").

KAJE (BAJU)[108]

LOCATION: POPULATION: NOMENCLATURE

Virtually all major centres of Kaje settlement lie within Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, in the extreme south-western corner, from which point they extend in a north-westerly and northerly direction, along the borders of Jaba and Kachia District, thence into the no-man's-land at the heart of the District, where Kamantan, Ikulu, and Kaje settlements are intermingled (see "Social and Political Organization," below). Kaje here number 24,507 (N.A. Census, 1949–50). They are also found in apparently quite recent settlements in Kachia District, where they number 1,204 (N.A. Census, 1948–9). In 1950, Kaje of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, totalled 925 in three villages (Yamshir 385, Mafiri 165, Maikarfi 375).

The demography of the Kaje tribal area appears to be similar to that of the Katab tribal area: the density of both Kachia and Jema'a Districts (see Kaninkon, p. 81, above, and Jaba, p. 116, below) is considerably less than that accepted for

[104] Cf. Tremearne's Enniluchwe and Reynolds' Nliche.
[105] Cf. Seasons when marriages may be contracted, noted above.
[106] Perhaps "annually," earlier in the same sentence, should read "semi-annually"?
[107] Whether any part or all of this account refers mainly to Gizagwai, or more widely, is not clear.
[108] The following account relies heavily on the research done by J. A. Reynolds, A.D.O., between 26th April and 22nd August, 1950, in Zangon Katab District. His MS. Report has been invaluable in preparing this section.

has eaten his soul.[120] Victims of witchcraft are buried in a variety of ways, determined by age, sex, marital status, kinship status, etc. A person dying of an apparent disease is adjudged a witch and buried away from the compound, perhaps even in the bush, with no ceremony. A person dying from some accident, for example, one struck by lightning, is buried within the compound, as are the first category of dead described above, but without the ordinary rituals: exactly how Kaje explain this type of death is not clear from Reynolds' account.

The most elaborate burial ceremonies are those for the old, and little differentiation is made as to the sex of the deceased so long as he or she is survived by a numerous progeny. First, the *gado kapiyi* examines the body to determine the cause of death; then the *gado abwai* attends the body and the voice of the *abwai* is heard, whereupon the *gado abwai* " announces to the women that the old man has now become a *dodo*."[121] A vertical shaft is dug 3 or 4 ft. deep, and from this in both directions a tunnel to receive the body, head to the north, face to the west. The grave is sealed with a stone.

A feast is held directly by men of the lineage. Further celebrations with feasting and dancing are held before the next sowing, for all the dead of the lineage since the last sowing. The major lineage appears to be the unit for these celebrations.

At the end of the general celebrations, the patrilineal descendants of the deceased gather in his compound for five successive days for ritual feasting. After this the wives and mother of the dead man go into mourning for one month, when they cover themselves with red earth and abstain from bathing and shaving themselves. They will not let rain touch their bodies, nor will they go to the stream or cross it, even by a bridge. They eat rich food, but after dark, and take no part in the preparation of food. They do not speak to any male who does not belong to the compound and do not have sexual relations, for which reason they all sleep in one hut. They do not wear the *ndyig* (*?oyam*), but a girdle made of raphia, and always carry a hand-broom. At the end of a month the women are shaved(?), and for this occasion beer is made with corn brought by the married daughters of the classificatory daughters of the dead man at the time of the funeral ceremonies. The major lineage collects and drinks the beer and feasts ritually on beans.

The death of a civil head is kept secret for a month, when his successor is publicly announced. In the case of *gado kapiyi* and *atiyinhwap* bush hunting is a feature on the day of burial, and the deceased is interred in his skin loin-covering rather than in cloth garments. In the case of the *gado abwai*, the distinctive feature occurs only two or three years after burial, when an elaborate memorial service (*aswa*, or, popularly, *tswandik*) is held. The rituals appear to serve as the confirmation of formal investiture of the deceased *gado's* successor, for in fixing the date of the celebration, cult affairs from the death of the late *gado* are reviewed, and the state of the public morals with which the cult concerns itself. When the date has been set, fibre neck-cords (*tswandik*) prepared by the Madauchi are distributed among the wives of the community, after grain in the fields begins to form heads. The actual ceremonies do not take place, then, until the height of the dry season,

[120] The distinction observed here between a witch and a sorcerer is based on practice; the sorcerer uses " medicines " and rites; the witch may be entirely ignorant of his own supposed activities, engaging in witchcraft while asleep, in a trance, etc. Kaje appear to feel no particular animus towards witches in general, nor even towards suspected specific witches while they are alive; but note supernatural sanction against witchcraft, and the treatment of supposed witches after death.

[121] It cannot be recalled too often that the concept of the " dodo " needs more careful investigation throughout this area than it has yet had. Two definitions are current among Europeans: more usually the " dodo " is regarded simply as " a spirit "; a more subtle view, perhaps, holds that it represents the collective embodiment of the community's dead. The latter definition is convincing in certain contexts, but the existence of a number of " dodone " in a single group suggests that the former may also have a degree of validity, and that the two definitions should be mediated, as it were, or new and more precise terms from the vernacular adopted.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
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when the deceased *gado* is said to return to the *abwai* hut: beer drinking and dancing take place on alternate days; every spirit voice is heard, and two masked dancers, also described by Reynolds as "dodone," both mute, appear—one, *kusak* (Hausa, *kajinjiri*), who dances with the women of the community, and the other, *daniet*, who parades about at night in a ponderous leaf-covered frame of bamboo. During this entire period, male clothing is restricted to a plaited raphia penis-sheath. Though it has been suggested that neck-cords or *iswandik* are intended to remind women of their marital obligations, and serve to restrain them from contracting new secondary marriages, and though, as has been noted, sexual relations between a man and his brothers' wives is a ritual offence, Reynolds is still of the opinion that *aswa* is a period of sexual licence in the community. At the end of the period of celebration, each wife in the village gives the gathering of cult members a final pot of beer, around the neck of which her *iswandik* is fastened.[122]

769 794 291 786

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The general character of indigenous Kaje religion will be apparent in the above account of rituals and other practices associated with the life cycle. Few additional details are available, and these add little to the picture. 789

When the rains are overdue, the elders of the clan or tribal section meet at the local "rain 'tsafi' place," where the *atiyinhwap* performs a rain-making rite. Failure of this rite in past times brought a league of *atiyinhwap* of Banewhan, Batadon, and Baimbin to "inform" the *atiyinhwap* of Baiduan, who would perform similar rites on behalf of the whole tribe. For a number of years, however, only the *atiyinhwap* of Baimbin has persisted in carrying out these rites.

Acha-sowing rites, too, have fallen into disuse, apparently, except among Baimbin. If a trial sowing of mixed seed of the *atiyinhwap* sprouts satisfactorily, general sowing commences immediately; if not, *atiyinhwap* solicits offerings, presides over a feast of elders, and finally prays over the ground. 241

Acha harvest rites, however, are still commonly practised throughout Kaje, according to Reynolds. These begin much like the rain rites, with the *atiyinhwap* spreading acha paste on the stone at the "rain-shrine": from the rain-shrine, however, he retires to his compound, where he applies paste to the huts, to the floor and walls of his own hut, and finally to his bed. Similar rites are performed in every compound early the next morning, when the compound head selects "a sensible youth who would first spread the paste on an old hoe and then on the grave of his grandfather." Thereafter, huts and cornbins are treated, the nearest cross-roads, and the waterhole; and the head of the compound is given paste to eat, and calls on God and his ancestors to bless them. The youth then eats some of the paste and divides the remainder between members of the compound. Only when these rites are performed can the new acha be used in the regular way as food.

The sanctions against murder, violence between groups or even within the minimal lineage and incest, are traditionally of a supernatural sort, and such crimes might be expunged by ritual purifications: for example, a murderer was expelled to Kagoma, where he served the senior ritual head there as a slave, in effect, for a year; he then retired to Kurmin Bi, where the senior Kaje *atiyinhwap* performed a rite readmitting him to the general Kaje community; he then underwent further rituals in his own village.[123] 681 783

Theft and protracted debt were punished by fines; but the offended and offender were alike subject to oaths and ordeals credited with supernatural sanctions: these were administered by the priests and some are done still. 681 695

[122] On the basis of available materials it is impossible to comment on the apparent discrepancy between Meek's and Reynolds' accounts: Meek understood that this or a nearly identical celebration was recurrent at two- or three-year intervals; cf. Katab, farther above.

[123] Rape and adultery appear to have been left up to the offended party to deal with: the death of the offender ended the matter.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

342 are thatched, sloping up at the back to an angle of forty-five
[768] degrees. A house is not re-occupied after the death of either of its owner or of his wife.

596 The family system is patriarchal, and the head of a house has absolute jurisdiction over its members.

769 They worship their ancestors and observe various fetish.
797 The chief priest lives at Kurmin Bi, and the second one to him
787 at Bunkua, but each group shares a common place of worship. Muhammadanism is penetrating amongst them. They are head-hunters.

589 A girl is betrothed at the age of seven, when the suitor gives
584 her father three chickens and 1s. Later on he again gives a hoe, a goat and 10s.; and on the wedding day, when she is about ten years old, pays a final contribution of four chickens.

583 A bag of cowries and two hoes are also an ordinary dower.

A form of capture of the bride is sometimes gone through, but the girl cannot be detained against her will, and the groom returns to give her father the customary presents. Ordinarily her parents take the bride to the groom's house, where he cuts up a goat and distributes its flesh amongst his guests, who then retire. The bride is not allowed the right of refusal, but no steps are taken against her if she leaves her husband. The man to whom she goes pays a further dowry to her parents.

[586] Marriage can be terminated on the repayment of all moneys given.
582 Consanguinity is an absolute bar. If a woman has already had a child, one horse is the price paid for her. Her first three
[434] children belong to her father, but can be redeemed by their own father for a bag of cowries and two goats each. Children are an acknowledged currency, a child of four years old does not command more than one goat.

846 A mother and her new-born child are washed in cold water
553 on the day of its birth. On the fourth day the mother takes her infant outside the house, where it is named in the presence of the women of the household. The father names a boy, the
[845] mother a girl, but the Elders of the village perform that function in the case of twins. They assemble for the purpose on the seventh day and partake of a feast, for which the father provides a goat and beer.

764 When a death occurs, women wail and horns are blown. The corpse is wrapped in a new mat of plaited palm-leaves and men carry it to the grave amid shouting, blowing and drumming, while the women and children remain indoors. The chief priest wishes the spirit of the dead and the bereaved family well, and the body is lowered into a grave shaped like a prayer board, either close to the porch of the house if the deceased had had children, otherwise outside under the shelter of the wall. The corpse is laid on its back, a man's face being turned towards the